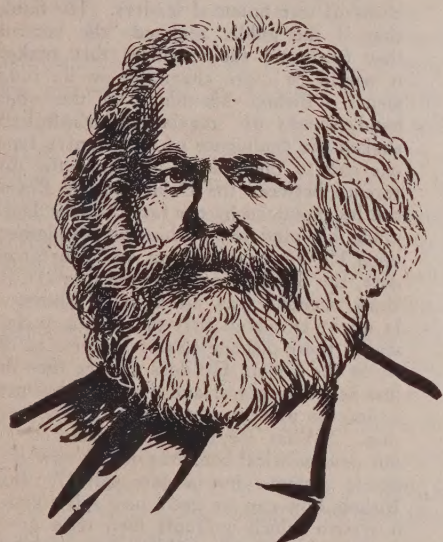


THE WORLD

Vol. XVI
No. 11

TOMORROW



KARL MARX

Fifty Years After

Articles By

Scott Nearing

Paul H. Douglas

Reinhold Niebuhr

The Bank Crisis

An Editorial

MARCH 15th

10 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year

Westminster
Looks at
the Kremlin

H. N. Brailsford

The World Tomorrow

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Ex Cathedra

MR. HAMILTON FISH, speaking on February 28 before the Sons of the American Revolution, declared: "Men and women of radical persuasion, Communists, Socialists, pink intellectuals and radical college professors, have been going around the country in the last few years talking to groups of young people and particularly to women, telling them that everything was wrong and rotten and corrupt in our democratic institutions, and that our economic system was brutal and oppressive to the wage earner. . . . The answer to all these charges is that for the last fifty years our wage earners have been the best paid, the best housed, the best fed, the best clothed and the most contented in the world. . . . We do not propose to surrender our civil, economic and political liberties, including freedom of speech and of the press for any foreign form of dictatorship. . . . Although I am opposed to a dictatorship based upon force and arms, I would favor in this serious economic crisis giving extensive powers to President-elect Roosevelt." There you have it. We don't want a military dictatorship. We don't need it. Our people are docile enough to accept a dictatorship by consent.

MR. MITCHELL, of the National City Bank, whose disclosures of the ethics of bankers brought about his quick removal as head of that institution, had some interesting things to say in his letter of resignation. He was sure that the public would "misunderstand" his testimony which was given in "ex-parte" hearings, he declared; and furthermore his dishonesties belonged to a "period which has now passed into history." Mr. Mitchell is symbol and example of all that is morally rotten in the capitalistic system. No one contributed more to the hysteria of 1929 than he. That much was known even before it was revealed that he was personally dishonest. Yet his only defense is that his offenses belong to a period that has passed into history. Mr. Mitchell adds a bit of unconscious humor to his resignation by closing it with the pious words:

"I am sure that the elimination of my personality will not in the slightest degree affect the loyalty and devotion to service of the officers and employees of the company." We are quite sure that Mr. Mitchell is right on that point.

THERE are divided counsels these days at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Dean Gates deprecates criticisms of our financial leaders. He thinks that if the public realized "the burdens they bear and the sacrifices they make," it would be more charitable in its judgments. Bishop Manning, on the other hand, speaks of "revelations which have shaken the confidence of the country from one end to the other." Perhaps the difference between the Dean and the Bishop can be explained by the fact that the Dean made his plea for a charitable judgment upon big business men on an unfortunate date, the Sunday before the National City Bank scandal was aired in Washington. It might be added that the Bishop understands these dishonesties of business as little as the Dean. He does not see that the line between honest and dishonest business under the present system has become very thin. "What we need," he declares, "is not new political constitutions or new economic systems, but a new spirit." But, Bishop, how can we get a new spirit under a system which corrupts men with greed and makes profit-seeking an absolute value?

IN a final plea before the German election, former Chancellor Bruening made a request to President Hindenburg to protect those who had elected him from the oppressions of those who had opposed his election and whom he had now placed in power in Germany. That plea is an interesting confession of the futility of the policies followed by both the Catholics and Socialists in placing Hindenburg in power as a guarantee against fascism. The very man whom they elected opened the gates to the fascist hordes.

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The Banking Crisis

The closing of the banks in every state of the Union is a crowning evidence of the incompetence of our bankers and the disorganization of our banking system. It was not caused by attempts to obtain gold, by publicity given to R. F. C. loans, or by the failure of governments to balance budgets. Those are the frightened excuses of apologists who are anxious to shift the blame from the shoulders where it belongs. The breakdown started in Detroit because the banks there had overloaned on real estate and possibly on automobiles. It spread cumulatively both by contagion and because of the fact that every state moratorium increased the strain upon the banks which were still open for funds with which to meet payrolls and other obligations. This in turn forced additional states to declare moratoriums as a defensive measure to conserve their funds, and the process continuously heightened the strain upon New York and Chicago until they were forced to give way after the closing hour on March 3.

An accelerating cause has been the almost complete loss of confidence in bankers by the public. This has not resulted from agitation by radicals but from the ineptness and downright dishonesty of many leading bankers. The Lee-Higginson performance in the handling of Kreuger-Toll affairs, the part played by Chicago bankers in floating Insull securities and in taking collateral which bondholders thought belonged to them, and the sharp practices to which Mr. Charles E. Mitchell, president of the National City Bank, confessed before the Norbeck Committee properly made the public both disgusted and indignant.

Now that the banks have closed, the time is ripe for a reorganization of our banking system. It is clear that the banks can probably not open without government aid. The group which, more than any other, has attacked governmental activities is now being compelled to beg for public assistance to save it from the consequence of its own actions. We believe that the depositors should indeed be protected by a governmental guarantee, which must not, however, imply the protection of guilty and incompetent bankers. Bank deposits should be guaranteed by the government and redeemed on demand in federal reserve notes. To check a run on gold it would probably also be wise to suspend the shipment of gold abroad and the conversion of federal reserve notes into gold internally.

Where a bank's resources are after a reasonable period of time insufficient to meet the demands, how-

ever, the bank should be closed and double liability exacted from the stockholders to help compensate the government for the funds which it advanced. Such a guarantee should also be used to introduce that national supervision and integration which is so badly needed. For the federal guarantee could and should be made conditioned upon the entrance of all state banks into the federal reserve system and their submission to the inspection of the national bank examiners.

Along with this program should go an extension of the postal savings system, which is the one type of banking which has remained solvent through this period. The maximum limit on savings deposits should be raised to at least \$7,500 and it should be permitted to handle checking accounts up to \$10,000.

The collapse of capitalistic banking, in short, points the way to the necessity of a more socialized and centralized system which will be purged of its weak and dishonest spots. Along with the necessity of relieving the present situation, we hope that these ultimate objectives will not be lost sight of and that the government will give its aid in the present only on such terms as will conserve the future.

The Inaugural Address

President Roosevelt's address was vigorous in tone and indefinite in content. The point at which he was explicit in saying that if necessary he would ask for wartime authority was the occasion for the loudest applause. His announced willingness to assume dictatorial powers was perhaps the most significant aspect of the address. So swiftly are events moving that there is a strong possibility that shortly we shall see a constitutionally-coated Mussolini or Hitler occupying the White House. With the enthusiastic consent of the American citizenry, Franklin D. Roosevelt is likely to wield power on a vaster scale than any other peacetime President. Whereas a dictatorship by radicals is repugnant to most voters of this land, a dictatorship by liberal-conservatives may soon be regarded as the only means of salvation.

The vagueness which characterized Mr. Roosevelt's campaign speeches is also conspicuous in his inaugural address. While he began by announcing that he proposed to speak with candor "the truth, the whole truth," he frequently resorted to glittering generalities that yield themselves to contradictory interpretations. He is for "sound" currency, and also for "adequate"

currency, and thus is entirely non-committal on the crucial question of inflation. "The money changers" are responsible for the financial crash; we must all be ready "to submit our lives and property" to discipline; unemployment must be reduced by "direct recruiting by the government"; we must "not distrust the future of essential democracy"—but the meaning of these phrases is left to conjecture.

We recognize the gravity of the circumstances under which the President was speaking and admit the difficulty of offering a specific program. The responsibilities resting upon our Chief Executive are absolutely crushing, and he deserves the sympathies and prayers of his fellow-countrymen. But it does seem important to emphasize the fact that he is asking for the public signature to a blank check without giving any clear indication as to how the check is to be filled in.

The Hitler Victory

There are various ways of defeating democratic principles. For some years Germany has been ruled by a semi-dictatorship because it was impossible to secure a parliamentary majority for any political program. Finally Hindenburg permitted Hitler to become Chancellor with the understanding that he could continue only if he secured a parliamentary basis for his rule. Hitler used his brief period of authority before the new election to manufacture his majority. By suppressing the opposition press and prohibiting every form of election propaganda on the part of opposition parties, by a campaign of terrorism, directed particularly against Communists but in general against the entire liberal and radical opposition, Hitler has gained his ends. The March 5 election gave him and his Nationalist allies a majority of 52 per cent in the new Reichstag. Germany, after years of equivocation, has definitely turned towards reaction. Fascism is in the saddle and it will probably not be dislodged for many years.

Hitler profited mainly by getting out the stay-at-home vote. He increased his vote by 11 per cent over the last election while every other party except the Communists held its previous strength with only comparatively insignificant diminution. The Communists lost 20 per cent of their vote, the loss probably being due to the fact that they had to bear the brunt of the pre-election measures of repression and terrorism instituted by the government.

It may be expected that Hitler will exploit his victory by suppressing the Communist Party and refusing it the right to be represented in parliament. Ultimately, of course, this reactionary terrorism will fashion the instruments of its own undoing. How long a time will be required for this process is a question which cannot be answered at the present with any degree of certainty. One thing is certain, and that is that fascism in Germany will meet with more de-

termined and more powerful opposition in Germany than in Italy. Under the pressure from the Right it is practically inevitable that socialism and communism will be welded into a single instrument of opposition. That will require time. Furthermore, there are about three million deluded workers and impoverished petty bourgeoisie in the ranks of fascism who will discover in time that fascism is a servant of reaction and that it will never redeem its glowing promises to them. Their defection from fascism is almost an inevitability. It is a question when it will occur, but when it does the time will be ripe for a decisive turn in German politics.

The fascist victory ought to be instructive to pure parliamentarians who are so certain that democratic and political processes will alone guarantee the ultimate victory of socialism. The victory proves again how revolutions come from the Right rather than from the Left. In the decisive hour when the Right abandons democracy, the Left is pushed to the wall if it makes a fetish of parliamentary methods and ideals. That was the mistake of German socialism. It was a mistake from which socialist strategists will have to learn a lesson.

Karl Marx

On this fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx THE WORLD TOMORROW devotes its issue to an exposition of various phases of Marxism because it is convinced that Marx will remain the chief source of the philosophy and the strategy of the radical social movement in the Western world. Slavish devotion to Marxian orthodoxy is not desired and will not be effective. But it is important to note that recent events in world history have invalidated some of the revisions of Marxian thought, including those undertaken by Kautsky in Germany and the Fabians in England, as well as the more heterodox revision of Eduard Bernstein.

In broad terms the recent history of the world has validated catastrophic Marxism on the whole as against the more optimistic and purely parliamentary types of Marxism elaborated in England and Germany. This does not mean that the Russian version must be accepted or that the communistic pattern, woven in the unique circumstances of Russian history, is to be regarded as a pattern universally applicable. It is practically certain that the complexity of Western industrial civilization makes Russian orthodoxy as inapplicable to our problems as the revisionism of the continent. Radicalism in the Western world must work pragmatically upon its problems without slavish adherence to any strategy or philosophy. But every recent development proves that Marxian thought will continue to be the source of necessary insights into the temporary situation and the guide to an effective strategy.

Debt Equals National Wealth

On February 20 the National Industrial Conference Board published an illuminating report on "Debt and Its Burden." It will be remembered that this organization is a clearing house of conservative manufacturers, and its findings therefore are not likely to be exaggerated in the direction of radicalism. The estimate is made that the total amount of interest-bearing debt of all kinds in the United States in 1929 was approximately 155 billion dollars, as compared with 115 billions in 1922. While later figures are not available, the opinion is expressed that "the amount of debt has not materially changed." The amount for 1929 is compared with estimates for that year published by five other authorities, as follows: 160, 161, 182, 203, 234 billions.

To catch the real significance of these figures one must recall the fact that the total national wealth of the United States at this moment stands at approximately 200 billion dollars. The estimate of the National Industrial Conference Board for 1930 was 330 billions, and the enormous shrinkage in values has brought the total down to a figure not greatly in excess of 200 billions. This astounding combination means that the total debt of the country is now about equal to the total wealth of the nation. Even on a basis of the most conservative estimate, the total debt is equivalent to at least two-thirds the total wealth of the land.

Added significance is attached to these figures by the reminder that the total national income of the United States in 1932 is estimated at 40 billion dollars by the N.I.C.B. The accompanying chart, prepared by this agency, tells an impressive story. The

gist of the business is that the payment of the total debt of the country would require every cent earned by every man, woman and child in the land during the next four years, and possibly five years, at the present rate of income. So this is capitalism!

Pacifism at Oxford

The vote was 275 for and 153 against the motion that "this House will in no circumstances fight for its King and Country," and the place was the famous Oxford Union. And even more striking was the vote of 750 to 136 against the subsequent motion of Randolph Churchill to expunge the resolution from the minutes.

In commenting upon the journalistic response to the first pacifist vote, the *New Statesman and Nation* says: "Seldom have we seen anything more diverting than the rage and astonishment caused by the Oxford Union resolution. The pages of the *Telegraph* and *Morning Post* are wet with the tears of sexagenarian Oxonians lamenting over the decadence of their Alma Mater." The former periodical also publishes an illuminating article by Mr. F. M. Hardie, president of the Oxford Union, from which the following words are taken:

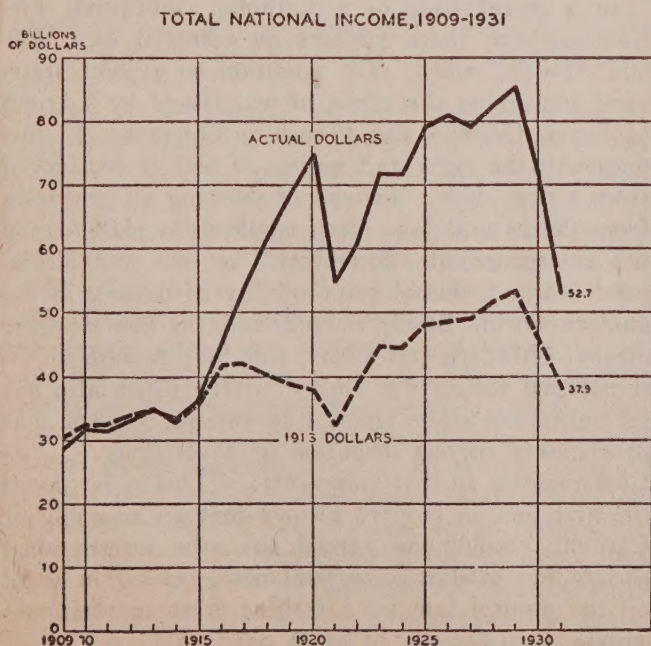
In the last year or two the swing to the Left among students of politics at Oxford has been very striking. . . . In October, 1931, the Oxford University Labour Club did not hesitate to ask Mr. MacDonald to resign his position as President of the Club, and appointed Mr. G. D. H. Cole in his place. . . . The Labour Club now has a membership of nearly five hundred, and that it holds a well-attended meeting every week is, in view of the innumerable calls on the time of an Oxford undergraduate, a very creditable achievement. . . . The Thursday Club, a discussion club for Labour dons, has a membership of between thirty and forty, mostly men under the age of thirty, most of them definite Socialists; it is said (though here I am open to correction) that no Oxford economist can be found to support the National Government. . . .

The October Club, a definitely Communist organization, held its first meeting in January, 1932. When it was founded it was in most Oxford circles regarded as a joke and not a particularly good joke, and it was confidently prophesied that when its founder went down the club would collapse. Actually it now has a membership of between two and three hundred. . . .

In October, 1931 . . . the House [Oxford Union] voted by a majority of sixty-seven that: "In Socialism lies the only solution to the problems facing this country." No such motion had ever before been carried. The process of the swing to the Left has been continued this term.

The Manchester University Union likewise adopted, by a vote of 371 to 196, a motion "that this house will under no circumstances fight for its King and Country."

With enthusiasm we direct the attention of American college students and professors to this leftward swing in British universities.



Education Under Dictatorship

From the standpoint of social implications, the most important recent news from Russia is that the Party has issued a new decree with respect to education (August 25, 1932). Criticism had already arisen over the employment of methods, such as the project, that have led many Americans to praise the Soviet schools. The project method, so the criticism said, had been found to produce a happy adjustment of the pupil to Russian society in its present transitional form, whereas what is needed is devotion to goals not yet attained. The new decree indicates the means whereby this devotion is to be brought about, namely, a return to a rigid textbook-and-recitation method, examinations, and the kind of discipline that culminates in expulsion for from one to three years of "incorrigible pupils who insult the school personnel, violate the school rules, and are guilty of destroying or ravaging school property."

American commentators upon the communist experiment in Russia have found nothing more marvelous in that surprising country than its schools; and the most surprising thing about them is not their titanic effort to make suddenly literate a vast conglomerate of mostly illiterate populations, but the use of methods that stimulate thinking, initiative, and action from conviction rather than from either imitation or imposition. These methods always have involved the new Russian schools in a paradox if not a contradiction. For the schools in which these free methods were used were required to imbue the mind with orthodox communism and unquestioning belief in the present regime. Hence the remark, often heard in the United States, that the Russian schools are engaged in propaganda rather than education. The truth is that they have been engaged in both. They have attempted to do pupils' thinking for them, closing their minds to some problems, and at the same time to liberate the mental powers and put them at work of their own volition upon the important concerns of life. This has been a mysterious mixture. Though the government of Russia is a dictatorship, it has fostered the emancipation of the mind to a high degree. What, then, is to prevent the alert minds of the rising generations from questioning communist dogmas and bringing the dictatorship itself under free judgment? Have those who scoff at democracy been unwittingly creating a democracy of the intellect? Have they fancied, possibly, that dictatorship and democracy of the intellect can live together? And are they now discovering their mistake?

The educational problem that is here involved is not a new one. It was encountered long ago by the Roman Catholic Church. The papacy, like the Russian government, is a dictatorship; but—again like Russia—wherever the environment of Catholic schools is impregnated with the spirit of science and of democracy,

the church's teaching endeavors to mix dogmatic authority with the spirit of inquiry. The Catholic way of mixing them is to assign faith and morals to authority, and science, economics, politics, etc., to freedom. But neither of the two assignments "stays put". The church finds it necessary to censor science as well as morals, and to maintain an index of prohibited books. On the other hand, wherever the church makes room for freedom, there sheer authority moves into the background even in matters of morals, and persuasion comes towards the foreground.

The new Soviet policy arises, probably, from a realization that the mind-emancipating methods that have been employed for several years do not fuse, as was supposed, with the principle of dictatorship. In order to maintain this principle unimpaired in a population rapidly becoming literate, it was necessary to canalize the thinking of the whole nation. Both the content that is to be learned and the method of learning must habituate the mind to a mass movement strictly predetermined by authority. In short, governmental dictatorship is to be made secure by subjecting pupils to the experience of dictatorship in the schools. This appeals to be the correct interpretation of the decree. Yet it need not be assumed that a single order settles the character of Russian education once and for all. There is an obvious see-saw in Russian thinking on various points. Moreover, Russian leaders are surprisingly and delightfully self-critical. As they continue to practice dictatorship in the school, they may find flaws in it, and therefore in the whole principle of dictatorship.

Catholics Move Toward Pacifism

In a recent issue of a Catholic publication, *The Commonweal*, there appears an editorial on "War and Morals" which calls attention to a joint statement concerning the ethics of war issued by a group of Swiss, German and French theologians. In this document the right and wrong of war is considered from a new angle. Instead of deriving all principles from the natural law, much emphasis is placed upon the emergence of "sociability," or the mutual dependence and mutual responsibility of nations in the modern world. Briefly summarized, the new doctrine means: "Modern states exist side by side with an international society (or embryo state) which also has its rights, not to be ignored by any government that proclaims a correct definition of sovereignty." *The Commonweal* further comments: "This is no doubt the first time in modern history that an assembly of Catholic theologians agreed that the international society now existing is an established institution based on the natural law . . . if there is an international society, then the citizen has a clear right—yes, under

given circumstances a clear duty—to prefer its decision to that of the state under which he lives.”

Thus another stone is being placed in the foundation upon which Catholics are building a superstructure of pacifism. The Catholic Church has long maintained that only a “just” war is ethically defensible, and has formulated an elaborate series of conditions which must be fulfilled by prospective belligerents before a particular combat can be regarded as a “just” war. A rapidly increasing number of Catholic theologians are now saying that under modern conditions it is impossible for a nation to fulfill these essential conditions, and that therefore war has become ethically indefensible.

A Call for Proletarian Unity

One of the most important issues now confronting the great body of Marxians the world around has recently been brought to a sharp focus by an appeal sent simultaneously to the Labor and Socialist (Second) International and the Communist (Third) International by representatives of seven Socialist parties of the Left. These bodies are the British Independent Labor Party, which has been strongly assertive in urging the search for a basis of unity or at least coöperation; the Norwegian Labor Party, which for a long time has been radical and thoroughly internationalist in outlook; the Independent Socialist Labor Party of Poland, which also has been a left-wing organization; the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, which, under the brilliant leadership of Peter Smidt, has been at odds with the orthodox Dutch Socialists; the newly organized Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; the Party of Proletarian Unity, in France, which has eight representatives in the Chamber of Deputies; and the Italian Socialist Party, composed of exiled leaders and a rank and file suppressed in Italy but unconverted to fascism.

With the exception of the last group, which has just taken this stand, all of these parties have been consistently critical of the Second International, though frankly unable to agree with the Communists and experiencing trouble when some measure of *ad hoc* coöperation has been attempted. They have been able to show convincingly that the Second International has followed at times far too easy-going a policy toward reactionary governments; has been much too quickly placated by unimportant concessions; has “played in” with powerful groups and dealt unfairly with the more advanced parties within the International. For example, at the time when the I. L. P. split with the Labor Party, Dr. Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the International, issued a long statement gratuitously indicting the I. L. P., though the latter was still a member. Previously, when Sir Charles Trevelyan resigned from the MacDonald Ministry because (a) he had come to doubt the ability or desire of that Cabinet

to stand up to the House of Lords over the Education Bill proposed by Labor, and (b) as he wrote to Premier MacDonald in scorching terms, the Cabinet was no longer interested in working for socialism, the International's press service suppressed the second of these reasons in its public announcements.

On the other hand, the International's Secretariat can point with force to the dogmatic lack of realism behind the insistence of the radical parties on a policy of refusing class collaboration under any and every set of circumstances; without a few exceptions, at least, the Spanish Socialists could not hope, by temporary collaboration, to implement their radical constitution by laws permitting legal socialization of the country; nor would the Danish Socialists have been able to withstand the reactionary attacks on wages and the trade union organizations. Admitting that bitter experience has indicated as a general rule that class collaboration has worked out badly, it hardly follows that no exceptions, at any time, should be tolerated.

Nevertheless, the plea for unity is an attractive one just now, when, as these left-wing parties forcefully say, the danger of war is so great and when the turn to fascism as a means of saving a decadent capitalism is more and more widespread. As the call of the seven parties puts it: “The Independent Socialist Parties . . . make a pressing appeal to all workers and workers' organizations to take decisive steps to achieve a true proletarian unity. We are unanimous in our fight against Reaction and Fascism; in resisting the attacks on living standards and on our political rights. Let us realize the united proletarian front of class-conscious workers on these simple demands.”

But it is an inescapable fact that behind the differences which separate the two Internationals are not merely historical, but present, differences of strategy; nor can the fact be blinked that in varying degree, these seven parties are in their own countries separated by deep chasms from the methods of both moderate Socialists and Communists. And therefore, while it is true, as observers of German affairs readily see, that a union of Socialists and Communists could rid the nation of Hitler for all time, and that the menace of a Far Eastern war engulfing the whole world cries out for increased coöperation of the workers' Internationals against it, nothing will be gained by an artificial oversimplification of what is at stake.

Nevertheless, the issues raised are profound, and must be faced, without too much delay, by all those who look forward to a socialized world. It can do no harm and perhaps great good to direct the attention of workers to the need. Possibly the discussion, and even more the time of testing, that are ahead, will do something to eliminate at least the unnecessary frictions and harshnesses of doctrine and action that make union at the present time appear to be inconceivable.



as Brailsford sees it

From Westminster to The Kremlin

THE unending debate between Socialists and Communists is usually futile, for it is ruined by anger and contempt. It is difficult to conduct, under the best conditions, for another and less discreditable reason. The average American or English Socialist has rarely taken the pains to grasp the Marxist conception of history. The average Communist, on the other hand, has seldom mastered the current literature of non-Marxist economics. One cannot level that reproach at Mr. John Strachey. He has groped his way out of the capitalist and Anglo-Saxon worlds of thought by gradual steps. He comes of a family which has endeared its name to all who love letters. His father, as editor and proprietor of the *Spectator*, made that journal a model of liberality and active enquiring tolerance. His own pilgrimage from Right to Left gives evidence of an intellectual courage that one must respect. Born in this Liberal-Conservative family, he joined the Independent Labour Party as a young man and became Sir Oswald Mosley's lieutenant while that erratic leader was still the rising hope of the Labour Party. Together they tried to impose a bold creative program on the inert and obstructive Cabinet dominated by MacDonald and Snowden. Strachey joined in Mosley's revolt, but left the "New Party" when its drift to fascism became evident. He had written an earlier book to advocate an ingenious plan of currency inflation, as an easy road to socialism. At last, after this crowded experience of ingenious hopes and angry disillusion, he found salvation in the rigid certainties, the Catholic dogmatism of Muscovite communism.

*The Coming Struggle for Power** emerges from this background with a unique capacity to persuade. Its author is easily familiar with the world in which the rest of us are floundering. He has watched Mr. Baldwin from a front opposition bench. He was one of Mr. MacDonald's young men. He has rocked the cradle of a fascist infant. He is at home amid the tangled heaps of algebra out of which Mr. Maynard Keynes is trying to evolve a stable capitalist system. In his hours of relaxation he has steeped himself in D. H. Lawrence and Proust. Our decadence and our

delusions have no secrets for him. Westminster in the person of a Strachey has gone to Moscow, much as in an earlier generation Oxford in the person of a Newman went to Rome. He writes, moreover, very well. He

can be lucid about money, and his sketches of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. MacDonald are drawn with an amusing and intimate malice. Nor need the reader fear that Mr. Strachey's youthful idealism has been torn from him in his ramblings through the thorns. From his dark picture of the present, the millennial future shines with a contrasting radiance. He is quite sure that communism has finally abolished class in Russia. It never occurs to him that there may be a fatal contradiction between the scholastic dogmatism of Moscow (with an efficient police to sustain it) and the spirit of science. He predicts, as Godwin did in the rosy dawn of the middle-class revolution, that his revolution also will abolish death. Hope is a constant wench who keeps the same set smile from century to century.

MR. Strachey's central theme is, of course, the inherent instability of capitalism. So far, we all agree. It cannot so distribute buying power as to keep the market stable: it seeks in imperialism a corrective for the inelastic home market: it thwarts by monopoly and combination the regulative action of its original principle of *laissez faire*: it is revealing today in the phenomenon of monetary instability incurable vices imbedded in its own structure. It seems, as we look around us, to be staggering to its final crisis. The tendency is all toward nationalism, imperialism and self-sufficiency, and this should logically end in the last catastrophe of war.

All this Mr. Strachey argues, perhaps as well as it can be argued. It leaves me, I confess, somewhere short of certainty. For capitalism is seldom the simple homogeneous principle to which one must reduce it, if the Marxist dialectic is to run smoothly. It evolves in seemingly contradictory directions. Today, in the depths of the depression, nationalism and imperialism are certainly rampant. A few years ago the trend on the whole was in the other direction. The steel cartel dominated Europe, and we seemed to be

*Published by Covici, Friede (\$3.00).

on the verge of agreements that would have ended international competition in steel, coal and oil. Stresemann and Briand were working for a United States of Europe. Many saw in the Bank of International Settlements the nucleus of a world-organisation that might have given us stable money. The League of Nations was a baffling hybrid, half idealism, half hypocrisy, but mainly impotence; yet could one dismiss as wholly without meaning for the future the internationalist liberalism which it represented?

Let us agree that capitalism cannot save itself without drastic planning. It must somehow control both income and output, so that buying power shall always suffice to purchase the goods and services that are available. I am as certain as Mr. Strachey himself that such an ideal perfection of planning is attainable only under social ownership in a classless society. But the bare possibility remains that giant trusts and scientific banking might together give us a much nearer approach to stability than we enjoy today, while insurance and a more lavish provision of social services would keep the workers relatively contented. Grant that the business cycle will still lurk round the corner. Will it necessarily destroy capitalism if the Liberals are allowed to curb it?

THE answer to that question lies where Mr. Strachey finds it, in the experience through which England has passed since 1920. Up to that year, through a period of real prosperity culminating in reckless inflation, Liberalism was lavish in its provision of social reforms. It housed the workers; it cared for them in sickness, old age, child-birth and unemployment. It redistributed, in these ways, through taxation, an appreciable part of the national income. While it throve, the class paid a generous "ransom" (Joseph Chamberlain's word) for its privileges. The pace slackened when deflation set in, and two Labour administrations could add pitifully little to the boons which Asquith and Lloyd-George had squandered. Then came the slump. The whole middle class rose in its might, with the King at its head, and to it rallied the pampered leaders of the demoralised Labour Party. The reaction swept away as much as it dared of all this "ransom," and cut the rest. We are nowhere near the end of the process yet.

Here, then, is a new phase of the never-ending "instability." One cannot be sure that any concessions will endure: one could not be sure that any "plan," however enlightened, would be allowed to operate, so long as the reality of power remains in the hands of an owning class. No honest Labour movement could live through such an experience without learning a lesson in realism. Mr. Strachey is not seriously unfair in the picture he draws of the Labour Party on the eve of the disaster of 1931. Its socialism was an ethical aspiration and little more, a Utopian dream

that tamed it: it believed that the new order would come virtually without effort or struggle by some immanent magic of evolution. In the meantime it worked not for socialism at all, but for reforms within the seemingly solid framework of the capitalist order. It consented to administer capitalism: it aimed in reality at making it more orderly and more tolerable. It was, in short, for practical purposes a liberal party and a buttress of the old order. It excused itself on the plea that it was only compromising till it won an absolute majority: but who can believe that with a majority MacDonald would have been bolder?

THIS book, however, is less than candid in its description of the present mind of the party. The experience that drove Mr. Strachey to Moscow startled the Labour Party into a wholly new attitude. It too is struggling for the reality of power. It drove a frontal attack straight at the centre of the enemy when it fought the election of 1931 on a proposal to nationalise banking. Even its more conservative spokesmen have renounced reformism, and propose when next they take office, to devote, from the first hour, their whole attention to a program of transition. They aim at taking over at once all the strategical keys to economic power—banking, the control of investment, transport, coal, electricity and agricultural land. They realise clearly the kind of opposition that will confront them, and propose to proceed by emergency ordinances on the wartime model. That is our empirical English substitute for dictatorship, all the better because it rests on precedent.

Two replies are possible. It may be said that this heroic mood will evaporate when the sweets of office are a little nearer than they look today. It may be so. But if that happens, then the Labour Party will split. Again it may be said that it is self-delusion to suppose that one can win power without a military struggle. Mr. Strachey's argument for this proposition is the slightest and least responsible section of his book. Few of us forget that an owning class may in the last resort fight to defend its privileges. Then, if we must fight, we choose to do it with a lawful government to organise our resistance, and the rights of a majority behind us. There, if you will have it so, speaks tradition, but because we have the ancestral memory of a revolutionary parliament, our case cannot resemble Russia's. Our democracy was, doubtless, a middle-class invention, but it has a way of adapting itself to new demands, and on the whole my own belief is that it is capable of achieving the transition to socialism without the suicide of civil war.

H. N. Brailsford

Baltimore, Md., February 24, 1933.

Marx's Contribution to Social Advance

SCOTT NEARING

KARL MARX died fifty years ago. It is not yet possible to decide how much effect his work will have in the advancement of the race, because his influence is still on the increase. It is possible, however, to describe some of the points at which Marxian thinking has been particularly influential.

Realistic analysis was perhaps the outstanding characteristic of Marx's work. Decades of labor and mountains of material accumulated in the course of painstaking researches into statistical and parliamentary reports provide the foundations for the Marxian classics. This encyclopedic knowledge is all the more impressive because Marx acquired it at a time when most students of social science were content with wish-generalizations and talmudic controversies. Through the network of academic theorizing, painfully spun and woven by contemporary economists, Marx hurled the results of his investigations and analyses. He forced economists to turn from "the economic man" and the "state of nature" to the grim realities of competitive profiteering in a "free" market.

People who have heard Marx's name and who have not read his works usually think of him merely as a propagandist. An American graduate student in economics who had been reading *Capital* went to his professor with a puzzled expression on his face. "I'm amazed," he complained. "Not a word of propaganda. Just a cold, logical analysis of the capitalist system." That is *Capital*, on the surface. Beneath, and underlying the entire work, is a burning hatred of injustice and a fierce impatience with a world that takes such a long time to wake up to the need for a new social order. But in form and content *Capital* is a monumental piece of social analysis.

Marx was a propagandist. But behind his propaganda was an immense body of information concerning the functioning of the system that he sought to destroy. Among all of the economists who wrote during the nineteenth century, none subjected the workings of the capitalist system to as painstaking an analysis as that contained in *Capital*. Similarly, in his study of revolution, Marx examined in careful detail the revolutionary movements of the 1830's and 1840's. He followed the Paris Commune with minute attention. His observations are summed up in *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* and *Civil War in France*.

Historic studies convinced Marx that productive mechanism rather than geographic environment was the determining factor in social advance. Guizot, Buckle, and other historians whose writings were then

generally accepted had pointed to geographic factors such as land formation and climatic influences as the vital historic forces. Marx became convinced that these slowly changing aspects of the environment could not account for such rapid transformations as those that followed on the heels of the industrial revolution, and that the sources of social change might be traced, in the main, not to geographic modifications, but to alterations in the means of production.

This conclusion had a profound effect upon human attitudes. In the presence of geographic changes, men were passive victims. They could neither hasten nor hinder the process. But the means of production could be revolutionized within a generation by the steam engine, the cotton gin and the spinning jenny. In place of man the victim, Marx saw man the master, and he set about re-writing the theories of historic determinism.

THE Introduction to the *Critique of Political Economy* contains the most concise statement of Marx's theory of history. "In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life."

According to the Marxian theory, a cross section of any society would therefore present this picture:

Ideas
Institutions
Means of Production

The means of production is the foundation upon which the institutional life of society is built. Means of production and institutions in turn shape the "forms of social consciousness," the type-ideas of the community.

An anatomist, given the skeletal remains of some animal, can draw a picture of the animal and describe its habits. The form of the bony framework bears a definite relation to body structure and function. An

economist, given the means of production existing in a society, can indicate the character of its institutions and the general nature of social consciousness existing in that society. The form of the means of production bears a definite relation to the institutional structure and the thought function of every community.

Marx not only challenged the geographical determinists, substituting for their geologic rate of change the far more rapid tempo growing out of invention and discovery; he also provided a yardstick for measuring social change. The means of production is a fundamental factor upon which any attempt to evaluate or to change institutions and ideas must depend. The relations between productive means and social institutions is therefore one of the basic historic forces.

THESE relations, as Marx saw them, are not determined from outside society but from within. The major factor in their determination under the conditions of a capitalist society is the class forces. Hence the generalization with which Marx and Engels begin their argument in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

Against Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship*, and Emerson's contention that all history is but the lengthened shadowed of great men, Marx insisted that throughout the period of written history contending classes, "oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, that each time ended, either in revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

No longer need the masses wait for a Moses. Their fate rests, not with the genius of an individual, but with the revolutionary power of an oppressed class struggling for the opportunity to employ the means of production for its own advantage. The possibility of social advance thus rests not in geographic forces but in class forces. Once the members of a class have become aware (conscious) of the need for class action, the ensuing struggle for power may lay the foundation for a new social order, provided that there is a new class using new means of production.

The modern bourgeoisie is "the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and exchange. Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class," until with "the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world's market," the bourgeoisie gained complete power over the representative State. "The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." The changes in the means of production have thus had their correspondences in the changing political institutions of

capitalist society. The ruling (capitalist) class has, of course, used the new institutions to consolidate its power.

Because of the internal structure of bourgeois society, "the bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society." The struggle for new markets, the development of mass productive forces, lead to economic crises of growing intensity that must ultimately destroy the framework of bourgeois society.

IN the meantime, however, the development of bourgeois society calls into existence "the modern working class—the proletarians," who are recruited from all classes of the population. The artisan, the small shop-keeper, the independent producer, the dispossessed farmer, are driven, whether they like it or not, into the ranks of the proletariat. Throughout its history, the wage-working class has struggled with the bourgeoisie—at first locally, then in a more organized and centralized fashion. The proletariat, because of its position, is the only "really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry: the proletariat is its special and essential product."

Marx thus places the modern working class at the center of the historic drama. A newly developed class, employing the vast structure of the new machine-production technique, the proletariat actually comprises the bulk of the race, bent on an historic mission of transcending importance. "All previous historical movements," Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*, "were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." Machine production makes it possible for the mass to seize power and to provide itself with the necessities of life. When the mass does rise, "the whole super-incumbent strata of official society" will be "sprung into air."

As the outcome of this momentous conflict, there will arise a new society, socialized, world-wide, built by the victorious proletariat. "Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." In these ringing phrases, Marx and Engels called upon the working masses to begin their historic task. The economic and historic doctrines become a battle-cry for the masses.

From their humble role as the slaves of capitalist exploitation Marx called the working class to the center of the historic stage. Henceforth the hewers of wood and the drawers of water were to set the historic pace: lead the race forward to win a revolutionary

struggle that would liberate mankind from its thousand year vassalage to class division and the exploitation of one social class by another. Here was a tremendous social challenge. The working masses were called upon to become the vanguard of the human race, and to build a classless coöperative society in which the social incentives would replace the greed for personal gain.

COULD the masses answer the challenge? Marx replied affirmatively, advancing two arguments in favor of his contention. First, capitalism must break down because of its internal contradictions. Second, the growing social consciousness of the workers will lead them to organize and seize power.

Capitalism must break down because under a system of profit economy there is a basic contradiction between the expanding facilities of production and the relative decline in the capacity of the masses to buy back the products. The worker receives only a fraction of his product in wages. Another large fraction, in the form of profits, passes into the hands of the capitalist. The worker spends 80 to 90 per cent of his income for the daily necessities. The capitalist, already well supplied with the necessities, can either add to the luxuries at his disposal or else he can convert his share of the income into additional capital goods—more machines with which to turn out more products. A small portion of the income of the working masses and a large share of the income of the capitalists is constantly paid into savings banks, insurance companies and other like enterprises and is then invested in fixed capital forms. Thus the surplus piles up in machines and productive equipment, the output of which cannot be absorbed either by the home market or the foreign market. Such stages of overproduction will be reached periodically, and will show themselves as hard times, increasing in intensity as the accumulated surpluses of capital mount higher and higher. Side by side with this surplus of capital would grow up a surplus of population—workers replaced by machines. At first this surplus would show itself only during periods of hard times. Later it would develop into the chronic army of the unemployed. Thus capitalist economy, torn from within by the progressive inability of the capitalists to dispose of their surplus at a profit, would suffer from a decreasing rate of profit, until finally it reached a stage at which profits were no longer paid. At this point the reason for the existence of capitalism would have disappeared. The capitalist system would have cut its own throat.

But long before this stage was reached, the masses, under pressure of their worsening conditions, would have organized a revolutionary movement, and, at the strategic moment, would have seized power and begun the building of a proletarian society. The piling up of surplus capital and surplus population would lead, in due course, to social revolution.

HISTORY has proved Marx right in both of his contentions. Surplus capital has accumulated side by side with surplus population. At first this surplus showed itself in the recurring periods of hard times. Then, as the system matured, the surpluses became chronic features of capitalist economy. Countries like France and Italy, in which small farm economy continued in many districts, felt the pressure of surplus capital to a certain degree. But it was in Britain, Germany and the United States, the most highly developed centers of capitalism, that surplus capital piled up in huge, unassimilable volume and that the surplus population took the form of the chronic army of the unemployed. Accumulating capital surpluses in the principal capitalist countries marked the turning point from capitalist expansion to capitalist decline. Meanwhile, the exploited working masses organized themselves in preparation for the seizure of power. The Marxian analysis of the probable line of capitalist development has proved to be more nearly correct than the analysis of any other nineteenth century economist. At the same time, no nineteenth century economist painted in brighter colors the future of the working masses.

As the revolutionary movement developed, it leaned more and more upon Marxian theory. The First, Second and Third Internationals have followed a Marxian line. With the exception of the Industrial Workers of the World, and an anarchist movement that has never been numerically strong, the United States revolutionary movement has been Marxian. The Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party have all used the Marxian classics as their textbooks. As the workers' revolution enlarges the field of its activity and broadens the area in which it holds power, the influence of Marx and of the Marxian method will continue to advance until he and his teachings occupy a dominant position in the social thought and organization of the world.

Amid the Tempest

WE kneel at altars whence the gods have flown
And pour out hecatombs of blood and tears,
Burning the fruitage of laborious years
Before gaunt idols carved of clay and stone.
"Heed us, O Powers!" we cry, "Pity the moan
Of nightmare-shaken myriads whom the spears
Of Need and Avarice drive with scorching fears,
While the whole world is scarred and battle-blown!"

Passionate though our prayers, the temples stand
Silent where shadowed generations trod,
Dust on the courts, and weeds in every shrine;
Crumbling and dead. . . . And shall no prophet's
hand

Uplift new altars to a living god
Ere the walls topple like a wind-felled pine?

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

Marxism and Religion

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

ORTHODOX Marxism is unqualifiedly hostile to religion. Parliamentary types of socialism in both England and Germany have qualified this hostility and have declared themselves indifferent toward the religious convictions of party members as long as they did not imperil the political unity of the proletarian movement. The late Keir Hardie, founder of the British Labor Party, used to shock the more Marxian continental Socialists by insisting that a portion of his radical inspiration had come from the idealism of Jesus. Nevertheless, the main body of Marxian thought is still hostile to religion and regards it as a counter-revolutionary force. Of that attitude the communism of Russia is a telling example.

With what degree of justification does Marxism hold to this anti-religious orientation? Its economic determinism, by which it interprets all cultural phenomena as ideologies which are determined by the economic interests of the classes in which they develop, would naturally and justifiably make it critical of the religious forms and pretensions of the owning class. But such determinism should rightly place other cultural forms in the same category—as rationalizations of the interests of a particular class. Marxism is not wrong in regarding Protestantism as, on the whole, the religious sublimation of the interests of the middle classes, just as Catholicism is in the main organic to a more feudal-agrarian world. But in this respect educational institutions are in no different position than the institutions of religion. Why should religion be regarded as an "opiate for the people," and not education? Is not the radical in error when he regards all religion as counter-revolutionary but considers education and the whole secular cultural enterprise as counter-revolutionary only when it proves itself to be so by its fruits?

Anyone who is intimately acquainted with American universities and with American churches must agree with the Marxian that they are all pretty thoroughly enmeshed in the prejudices, partial perspectives and interests of middle-class life. Both the church and the school, seeking either the "truth" or the religious ideal, are unconscious of the degree to which their transcendent values are corrupted by class interests and their allegedly transcendent perspectives are colored by the survival instincts of a social class.

If there is any difference between the two institutions, the advantage is on the side of the church. There are many more parsons in intimate contact with the poor than university professors. There are, fur-

thermore, classical religious insights which enable realistic religious leaders to understand the reality and force of collective egoism in society to a greater degree than the university understands them; for the school is on the whole so thoroughly enmeshed in the individualism, the rationalism and the optimism of middle-class culture that even its social psychologists fail to understand the realities of man's collective life. Whether religious insight or direct contact with the people is the root of the realism, it is a fact that many more parsons than educators have arrived at a Marxian philosophy of history and express themselves in frontal opposition to the capitalistic social system. The number is not large in either case when compared to the total number of educators or preachers. But it is significant, nevertheless, that there are liberals but practically no radicals in the universities, while there are real radicals in the churches.

THIS interesting fact raises the question whether the radical has not made a mistake in regarding religion *per se* rather than the peculiar religion of an entrenched social class as inimical to the proletarian cause. My own belief is that he has confused certain phenomena of middle-class religion with religion itself. His chief concern is with the supernaturalism and otherworldliness of religion, which, he believes, beguiles men from an interest in their social condition into vain hopes for relief in another world. It is true, of course, that religion has frequently had this influence. But it is significant that pure otherworldliness belongs to the excessively individualistic middle classes who have lost a sense of organic relationship to society and can think of redemption only in personal rather than social terms. Sometimes they force this individualistic otherworldliness upon the more ignorant and inert poor and it then becomes in the true sense "an opiate for the people."

On the other hand, the religion of the more virile disinherited classes has always expressed itself in apocalyptic visions of a redeemed society. The Marxian form of this dream is in fact merely a secularized version of it and is frequently in more direct historical relation to it than the Marxian is willing to admit. Individualistic otherworldliness always makes an essentially aristocratic distinction between the mind and the body, and thinks of heaven in terms of pure contemplation and a state of release from material forms. It is, in other words, a Greek rather than a Hebrew concept of salvation. The more Hebraic idea of sal-

vation, as found in the prophets and in Jesus, and in the sects of the disinherited through all the ages, is this-worldly. It finds the ideal world not above history but in history. It believes that the course of history is determined by a divine purpose which overrules the weaknesses and sins of men and finally establishes the victory of righteousness.

ONE reason why the Marxian holds this religious interpretation of history in such scorn is that he believes it himself and does not want to admit it. When Marx predicted the certainty of a classless society (clearly an ethical conception) and believed that a dialectical process in history guaranteed the realization of this socio-ethical ideal, he moved clearly in the realm of a religious rather than a scientific interpretation of history. More sophisticated Marxians, usually of the evolutionary and less catastrophic type, have tried to eliminate this element in Marxism, and have made the realization of the ideal dependent purely upon human effort, in precisely the same fashion as more sophisticated Christians have given up the apocalyptic hopes of early Christianity and substituted hopes for a society that is gradually to be redeemed by human effort.

Max Eastman has tried to eliminate this religious element in Marxism and stay within a revolutionary rather than evolutionary Marxian conception. He wants a science of revolution rather than a dialectic of history which makes revolution inevitable. He thinks the elimination of the religious element will increase the vigor of human effort. But that is because, in common with all intellectuals, he fails to understand the paradox of the religious life, namely, that it increases the energy of human striving for a historical goal by regarding the goal as predetermined in the "counsels of God" or in the "dialectic of history." Only an enervated religion sinks into fatalism and a slothful determinism. The resources for attaining the goal which the Marxian desires are in any given instant insufficient for its realization. Enthusiasm in the enterprise can be maintained only if it is believed that resources and forces beyond those immediately available or revealed are on the side of the rebel who defies malignant power. The idea that capitalism ultimately defeats itself and fashions the instruments of its own undoing has, of course, some scientific evidence in its support. But to raise that idea to the dignity of a law of history which operates with inexorable logic is to transmute science into religion and to assure an imperiled minority with the certainty of a victory which would not be so certain if the idea were supported only by a sober analysis of all immediate data. It is a secularized version of the religious hope: "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom."

There is another aspect of religious otherworldli-

ness which is not so compatible with social radicalism, and which the Marxian regards with justified suspicion. That is religion's genius for finding the basis of happiness in inner values which transcend external and social circumstances. "Religion," declared Goethe, "is reconciliation to the inevitable." The ability of religion to reconcile men to the inevitable and to give them an inner security against the most untoward circumstances so that they know "how to be abased and how to abound" can easily be used by a dominant group to persuade a subject class into acquiescence. It is natural, therefore, that the radical should regard it as a conservative and counter-revolutionary force. But it is such a force only when it is debased into an instrument of the social struggle. Ideally it is not impossible to develop a rebellious energy against every form of social injustice and yet maintain the religious assurance that "life consisteth not in the abundance of things a man possesseth." That is just as possible as to seek the elimination of disease by every resource of medical science and yet recognize that no man can be really happy if he depends altogether upon health as the basis of his happiness. Men must learn to create a physical and social basis for human happiness without giving themselves to the illusion that such a physical basis will solve every problem of the human heart.

The religious inclination to transcend external circumstances has rightly become anathema to social radicals because it is used by those who are physically and socially secure to beguile the insecure from fighting for their security. But there is no reason why it should not be turned in the other direction. A religious idealism which is organically related to Marxian radicalism will first of all fight for bread and security for everyone. Only by doing that will it be in a position to maintain without hypocrisy that man does not live by bread alone. It will resist the vulgarity of the owning classes, who are obsessed with life's instrumentalities, and their hypocrisy, by which they pretend to be indifferent toward material things only after they have taken care to satisfy their most extravagant material wants. But it will also know that a truth which has been corrupted by the privileged classes has not thereby become invalid.

THE final and perhaps most important basis for the charge of Marxism that religion is an opiate is the tendency of religion to issue in an individualistic moral perfectionism which is incapable of dealing with the realities of the social struggle. Religion tends to insist that justice must not be gained by strife but by a mutual and voluntary adjustment of rights. It tries to persuade those who suffer from injustice to wait for relief until their oppressors have learned how to be decent and unselfish. This moralism does easily lend itself to a counsel of acquiescence in injus-

tice. But here again religion does not differ greatly from liberal middle-class culture in general. There is no difference between the church which hopes to make privileged classes unselfish by preaching the law of love and the educators who hope to achieve the same end by giving them courses in sociology. In both cases we face the individualistic illusions of those who are the beneficiaries rather than the victims of social injustice, and who therefore have no idea of the force of collective egoism in society.

An intelligent proletarian class must learn that social injustice can be overcome only by eliminating the disproportion of economic power which causes it. It must, in other words, be politically realistic. But it need not for that reason substitute political illusions for moralistic ones and imagine that a political reorganization of society will automatically solve every

moral problem. There will never be a human society in which men will not have to learn how to place an inner check upon their expansive desires to augment the social checks. Moral perfectionism is an instrument of social reaction only when it is used hypocritically by a dominant class which profits by the use of power and counsels a subject group not to resort to power in order to gain justice. Basic justice must be gained by balancing power against power and achieving an equilibrium. But every civilization is under the necessity of building a superstructure upon that foundation, and religio-ethical insights will be required to perfect the structure. The Christian ideal of love is rightly discounted today because it is used to stabilize a world reeking with injustice. It can be used to destroy that world and to perfect the rough justice which will emerge out of the class struggle.

Karl Marx the Prophet

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

KARL MARX was to the socialist movement what Charles Darwin was to biological science. Both were intellectual watersheds in the history of thought. For just as the history of biology can best be divided into the periods before and after Darwin, so can the history of socialism best be classified into divisions before and after Marx. There would have been a strong modern socialist movement without Marx. The drift of economic development and the Industrial Revolution would have seen to that. But it would have been a different socialist movement, with less self-consciousness and with less awareness of its supposed historic mission. Marx, therefore, properly ranks as one of the great germinal minds of the nineteenth century, and perhaps in the end will be regarded as the most influential single thinker of that century.

Before Marx socialism was utopian and political thought Hegelian. Beginning with Plato and running down through More, Campanella, Andrae and Bacon, the radical social thinkers had sketched ideal commonwealths, but, lacking a socialist movement, were unable to translate their ideals into action. The years between Waterloo and 1848, however, saw a great recrudescence of utopianism, which actually took root in experiments. Owen in England and Fourier and Cabet in France believed that society could be transformed by the creation of model communities, and they set to work zealously to set them up. If the theories were European, it was in America, with its cheap land and its political democracy, that the actual experiments were made, and scores of communities, poorly-equipped

but ardent, sprang into being, only to vanish away and leave pietistic religious communities as their sole survivors. While the theories of the utopians differed widely on the internal composition of their communities, they were at one in advocating a retreat from the factory towns and the setting up of villages based on handicraft and agriculture. They believed that the superiority of life in these communities where consumption balanced production, where the wastes of competition were eliminated and where with greater equality of incomes there would be more fraternity, would be so evident that men of all classes would hasten from the old society to join the new. Like many of those who preach the "social gospel" today, they therefore emphasized the unity of interests between classes and the belief that the wealthy and privileged could be induced to divest themselves of their power and join in a free-functioning society.

Now while such theories as these were already meeting defeat before Marx appeared on the scene because of sheer economic realities, it was nevertheless he who gave them their intellectual *coup de grace*. In his *Communist Manifesto*, and later still in the first volume of *Capital*, he pointed out the fundamental absurdity of depending upon the wealthy to introduce socialism and instead demonstrated that it was the working class which was the driving force of the socialist movement because it as a class had most to gain from it. Marx indeed went beyond this, and by an elaborate historical and economic survey concluded that the developments of industry had been and would be such as would in-

evitably bring the working class to power and socialism to fruition. Socialism would conquer, not because it was ethically just, but because it was economically inevitable. But while this is the nucleus of Marx's thought, there are at least three major strands to his theory which need to be considered in much greater detail. These are the economic or technological interpretation of history, the labor theory of value and the theory of surplus value, and the theory that capitalism would inevitably disappear through a chain of economic forces which would culminate in a cataclysm. To a consideration of these theories we now turn.

1. *The Economic or Technological Interpretation of History.* In the *Communist Manifesto*, that keen and marvelously written pamphlet, Marx sketches the forces and factors which create economic, social and political change. Men in the mass, he believes, are governed by self-interest and will act in such a way as to protect and increase their material possessions and economic power. They will not always do this consciously and will indeed more often invent ideologies which justify their interests and action in terms of ethics, "justice" and other mouth-filling and soul-warming philosophies. But it will be economic interests which at the bottom determine their ideas and their actions. While here and there individuals may sacrifice their economic interests for the welfare of society, classes as such never do. But the economic interests of various social classes are not as harmonious as the apologist Bastiat tried to prove. On the contrary, those of the major groups are usually opposed. In this clash of interests, that class triumphs whose power, whether material or numerical, is greatest.

But while this explains how a particular set of ideas and institutions becomes dominant at any one time, it does not explain how, with the passage of time, the balance of power shifts and how new classes, new institutions and new ideas come to the fore. The fundamental reason for this Marx finds in technological change. This serves to increase the income of certain classes who profit by it. Others enter the business, property is accumulated, and power is acquired over persons and things. This rising class then finds itself held down and restrained by the political, social and religious, and even aesthetic standards which had been previously forged by the now waning class when it had been dominant. As the new class comes to acquire dominant economic strength the superstructure of society changes to conform to the new distribution of power. Thus Marx ascribes to widening commerce, the steam engine and the factory the decisive influence which finally made the industrial bourgeois more affluent and more powerful than the feudal aristocrats, and which transformed Europe in so many ways during the sixty years from 1790 to 1850. But Marx also saw that the factory owners, while rising in power,

were in turn creating a new class which would ultimately be their undoing. That class, it is needless to say, was the wage workers, who, no longer owning either the materials or the tools with which they worked, were propertyless and hence proletarian. And it was that class with antagonistic interests to the capitalists in which Marx saw the victor of the future.

2. *The Labor Theory of Value and the Theory of Surplus Value.* If Marx was the first great economic historian, he was also the last great classical economist. He believed that there was an economic as well as a historical contradiction inside of capitalism, and he set himself to disclose it. Discarding utility as a cause of value, because he believed that the differences in utility were qualitative and incommensurable, Marx made the ultimate unit and cause of value an hour of socially necessary labor of a given degree of intensity and skill, applied according to the normal technique of the industry. Commodities exchange for each other, according to the first volume of *Capital*, in precise proportion to the number of socially necessary labor hours contained within them. But while labor and nothing else created value, the laboring power of the workers was itself a commodity which was bought and sold. What then determined its "value"? The number of socially necessary labor hours embodied in the articles which the workers received in their customary standard of life. But since the laborer and his dependents could be maintained during the period in which he created one hundred units of value by commodities which contained less than one hundred units of value, this difference went to the capitalists and was termed "surplus value", or the excess of what labor created over that which it received.

This theory of Marx has been almost used to lend an ethical justification to socialism which Marxianism itself seems to scorn but which landed him in almost endless logical difficulties. For if it is true, then it also follows that only capital advanced for the payment of wages yields a surplus, while capital spent on raw materials, plant and equipment merely transfers to the final product the number of units of value already embodied in them and used up in production. This would mean that industries in which there was a high proportion of the first type of capital, to which Marx gives the term "variable", and a low proportion of the second or "constant" capital would have a higher rate of profit than industries where the ratio of constant to variable capital was higher. But, as Marx recognizes, there is a distinct tendency for the rate of profits to come to an equality in different lines of industry irrespective of the organic composition of their capitals. This fact forced Marx, in the third volume of *Capital*, to abandon labor as the cause of the value of specific commodities and to resort instead to a cost of production theory in which commodities exchange for each

other according to the amounts expended in wages, depreciation, etc., plus a mark-up for the average rate of profit.

3. *The Prophecy of the Inevitable Cataclysm of Capitalism.* Marx did not make an appeal against capitalism because it violated ethical principles. Moral indignation and passion alternately breathe and storm through his pages, but his argument is that capitalism is doomed to disappear for economic reasons and that the course of history is moving with iron necessity towards that inevitable result. There are no less than six causes which, according to Marx, will lead capitalist society to break down:

(a) *Concentration of Production.* Large enterprises, by taking advantage of the developments of technology, would, in Marx's opinion, be able to undersell the smaller. The latter would be driven out of business and in turn a further competitive war would be waged between the surviving plants, in which the larger ones would conquer the smaller and would grow still greater. This process of centralization would continue until manufacturing, transportation, finance, commerce and agriculture would be directed by a comparatively small class. In the first three of these fields Marx's predictions have been borne out to a striking degree in all industrial countries, but thus far agriculture has been very slow to follow in this path.

(b) *The Disappearance of the Middle Class.* As the small shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, manufacturers, bankers and farmers were displaced, a few of them rose into the ranks of the capitalists, but the great majority fell into the ranks of the wage-earners, or the proletariat. The Industrial Revolution, therefore, acted as a cream separator, dividing the middle-class milk into the capitalistic cream and the proletarian skim milk. Society came to be divided between these two classes—the capitalistic, who, though relatively few in number, owned the capital, and the proletarians, many in number, owning only their own labor. Here again Marx showed prescience although he did not foresee the creation of a new middle class which furnishes services or the great expansion of white-collar work inside of industry. Nor did he foresee the way in which the modern corporation theoretically makes it possible to reconcile diffusion of ownership with concentration of production.

(c) *The Increasing Reserve Army of the Unemployed.* Since variable capital alone gave employment to labor, and since the proportion which it formed of the total capital was decreasing, Marx reasoned that there must be increasing unemployment. But it is clearly possible for the absolute amount of variable capital to increase more rapidly than the population even if its proportion to total capital is shrinking. It is nevertheless true that even prior to the great depression the average percentage of unemployment in

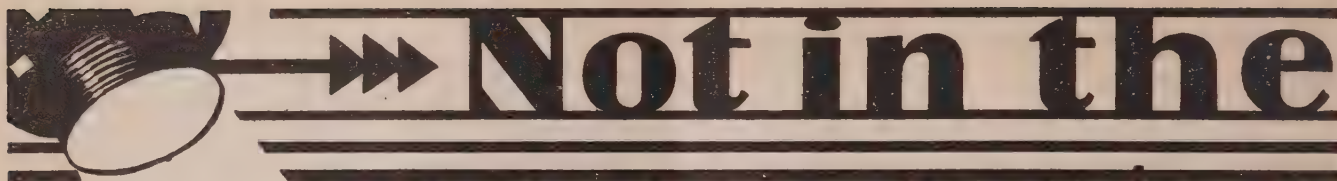
Europe had been very much higher than before the war.

(d) *The Increasing Misery of the Workers.* The pressure of the unemployed would force down wages and the condition of the workers would become worse. This of course has not happened in any absolute sense, since real wages have almost everywhere risen greatly in the last century. Whether they have risen as rapidly as interest and profits is another issue. They certainly did not in the United States from 1922 to 1929, but there is little evidence that they failed to do so during the preceding decades.

(e) *The Increasing Severity of Crises.* Depressions, according to Marx, were created because, though the workers produced all value, they received in practice less than they produced. They were not able to buy back the products of industry. The unconsumed surplus had to be dumped upon foreign and undeveloped markets, thus leading to imperialism or war, and there being insufficient markets to carry off the entire surplus, it accumulated at home. When this surplus rose to too high a figure, plants were closed down and a business depression set in which lasted until surplus stocks were exhausted and production could once again commence. Since the condition of the workers was becoming worse, the contradiction between the limited powers of consumption and the expansive powers of production was becoming ever more intense, and crises would in consequence increase in intensity.

(f) *The Emergence of a Strong Militant Working Class.* As the working class increased in numbers and lost hope of rising in the scale, as its condition became worse, and as it was pitch-forked into successive depressions, its opposition to capitalism increased. Brought together in factories and cities, workers found the means to organize and unite, and this fusion extended between localities within a nation and between nations themselves. At the strategic moment when the new society had developed within the old, the working class would rise, according to Marx, and then "The integument is burst asunder, the knell of capitalist private property sounds, the expropriators are expropriated."

Such then is the sweep of history which Marx envisaged. That he is mistaken on many points goes without saying, and perhaps his greatest achievement was not so much in the logic of his theories as in the way he removed the inferiority complex of large masses of workers and made them feel that they are the class which is destined to take power. Just as the apparent fatalism of Calvinism removed the doubts of its followers and gave them the consciousness that they were the elect of God, so has Marxism given not only hope but apparent certainty to the dispossessed. Marx thus ranks as one of the creators of the present, and his influence on the predictable future bids fair to increase rather than to diminish.



Not in the

Pacifist Cabinet Members?

A columnist writes in the *Army and Navy Journal*: "I hope the new Cabinet is better than it sounds. . . . I count four members of pacifist views. The only solace I have is that responsibility often changes preconceived notions. General Pershing will not be in Washington during the inauguration and General MacArthur will be the Grand Marshal of the Inaugural Parade. Some of General Glassford's Bonus Expeditionary Force has protested against the service by the Chief of Staff because of his execution of the orders of the President in expelling from Washington the members of that movement. Mr. Roosevelt won't listen to the objection, and properly so. He may need the troops to do again what they did so successfully and bloodlessly at the instance of Mr. Hoover."

Economic Vultures

It was not a soap box agitator, but G. L. Lachter, Managing Editor of the *Iron Age*, official organ of the steel industry of this country, who said recently: "Those 'keen' and 'shrewd' business men who are now buying the properties of the dispossessed 'for a song' are economic vultures." Mr. Lachter attributes primary responsibility for the depression to "Bankocracy" and says: "Most of our present ills, variously ascribed to overproduction, technological unemployment, price maladjustments, international and domestic debts, etc., are due fundamentally to the essentially unstable character of our credit system."

Railroad Wages

The depression has hit the railroads pretty hard since 1929. Wage cuts were ordered despite the protests of the rank and file. Now the Interstate Commerce Commission reveals that the salaries of officials were raised while those of the workers were lowered. For instance, the president of the New Haven received \$75,000 in 1929 and \$90,000 in 1932; the senior vice-president of the B. & O. received \$75,000 in 1929 and \$76,500 in 1932; the vice-president of the Santa Fe received \$40,000 in 1929 and \$40,500 in 1932; the vice-president of the Union Pacific received \$50,000 in 1929 and \$54,000 in 1932; the president of the M-K-T received \$50,000 in 1929 and \$65,000 in 1932.

Lack of Funds?

A significant item of news appears in the *Congressional Record*, on February 20: "The Vice President laid before the Senate a letter from the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission calling attention to the fact that about January 1, 1933, work stopped coming through on the printing and binding of the record in the utilities investigation, being conducted in response to Senate resolutions, and stating that the commission is informed that this publishing work has ceased due to lack of funds for its continuance. . . ."

Humanized Militarism!

The Senate's amendment to the Army Appropriation bill to provide for the care of "wandering boys" is a humanitarian move that deserves general commendation. Experienced and equipped as the Army is there is no doubt the experiment will prove a success. The boys will be saved from want, directed by competent officers and caused to understand the meaning of America. Better citizens make for better national defense.—*Army and Navy Journal*, February 18, 1933.

Challenge to Pacifists

Storm Jameson, the famous British novelist, issues a striking challenge to peace workers in *The New Clarion*. In part, she says: "Do you imagine that we are heaping up armaments because they shine? Or that the pursuit of cut-throat competition between nations for the lion's share of vanishing foreign markets will fail of its inevitable 'incident'? Or that repeated reference to another war in the columns of daily and weekly newspapers, and the private and public speeches of our leaders, is only a manner of speaking? Or that when the crisis comes our Bourbon-spirited statesmen will do better than wring their hands while the armament firms and the poison gas manufacturers, with those to whom a war brings increase, are ringing their bells? You deceive yourself if you do. . . . What is the Labour Party, as a party, going to do? What are the members of the Labour Youth Movement going to do? I want to know. When a war breaks out individuals are helpless. Only organized bodies of men can act. Military plans for mobilization in case of war are worked out down to the last detail. What plans, in what details, have our own leaders worked out for us? Where do I report for service against war?"

Wants More Government in Business

In addressing the Senate committee on economic conditions, E. T. Weir, chairman of the National Steel Corporation of Pittsburgh, turned his back on the old idea that the government should keep out of business, saying on the contrary: "I believe it is a fundamental and important necessity that the government, which after all is the only power in the country today that has sufficient resources, should protect the banking situation where possible failures are of such magnitude as to break down confidence. . . . I fear we will sink further—without the assurance that the banking situation of this country has the Federal Government behind it in an aggressive way."

Fellowship at Chicago Fair

Plans are being made to hold a world fellowship of faiths in Chicago during the late summer and early fall. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and other leaders have sent letters to the outstanding representatives of India, England, Russia, China and Japan explaining the plans and inviting their participation. The meet will be in the nature of a parliament of religions similar to that held at the World's Fair in 1893.

Communists Honor Catholic Priest

One of the strangest happenings in Germany occurred recently at Muhlheim. Deacon Jacob, a Catholic priest, died and the Communists held a memorial meeting for him and delegated fifty members to walk in the funeral procession carrying two wreaths. Deacon Jacob spent all his time in the interest of the poor and underprivileged. He gave them all that he had and frequently lacked food and clothing himself. When he died his total possessions amounted to ten cents.

Down With Coöperatives!

At the instigation of the Paris Chamber of Commerce, a vigorous campaign has lately been started by a number of influential private traders against the bill to confer a legal status on the Coöperative Movement, which was recently introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by the Coöperative Parliamentary Group. In reply to this attack against the Movement, it is pointed out that the Paris Chamber of Commerce has not even indicated the grounds for its objection to the bill, which has been carefully considered by the Superior Council of Coöperation, an official body attached to the French Ministry of Labor, and approved by both the French Agricultural, Consumers' and Productive Societies.

Headlines

The Rising Tide of Unemployment

In a recent issue of *The New Leader* (London), James Maxton presents the following table, showing the percentages of numbers unemployed in the British Isles to the total number of insured persons between the ages of 16 and 64:

	%		%
1921	17.0	1927	9.7
1922	14.3	1928	10.8
1923	11.7	1929	10.4
1924	10.3	1930	16.1
1925	11.3	1931	21.3
1926	12.5	1932	22.1

The Plight of the Farmer

Here are three incidents from Canada which help explain the farm revolt. One farmer sold ten sheep for which he received \$2.50. Freight charges, commissions, etc., amounted to \$4.80. Total loss for ten sheep, \$2.30. Another sold two cows for \$9.73. Trucking charges were \$9.50. Total profit, 23 cents. Another sent a cow to market. Freight charges were 50 cents a hundredweight and he received 50 cents per hundredweight for the cow. He would have broken even, but he had to pay ten cents for a brand. Total loss, ten cents.

Workers' International Film

An international conference has been called by the International Federation of Trade Unions of its national centers and of the Socialist parties affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, to discuss the making and exhibition of a film dealing with labor.

While Millions Are Hungry

A recent issue of *Bradstreet's Weekly* contains a picture of a pile of 4,000 bushels of wheat in a Kansas farmer's field. The owner decided that the loss of leaving it on the ground and feeding it to live stock would be less than would result from its sale at the prevailing price.

For Negroes Only

Senator Dill recently introduced a bill in the Senate designed to prevent the Pullman Company from employing Japanese and Filipino porters. The bill provides a fine of \$1,000 or 90 days' imprisonment for each violation. In supporting this bill, Senator Dill said: "In light of the fact that the colored men not only are highly acceptable as porters to the traveling public but that the colored porters look upon that work as a kind of work which they can properly do, it seems to me that we should by law protect them against the menace of the low-wage employee in the form of the Japanese and the Filipino."

If We Buy American

Four millions of Americans make their livelihood from the export trade, according to *The Business Week*, and would thus be compelled to find other employment if the "Buy American" campaign should be completely successful.

Electric Output Down

Electric power production has fallen to a new low. The daily average for the week ended January 28 is 204.3 million kilowatt hours, as compared to 205.2 million the preceding week and 220.8 in the corresponding week last year.

Protest Now

The annual auxiliary number of the *Union Teacher* carries the suggestion that protests are not useless when made with reference to the continuous military and naval propaganda for preparedness in news reels, especially when these protests are addressed directly to the news reel editors. This paper presents the following list to whom anti-militarists can write: Fox Movietone News—Editor, Edmund Reek, 444 West 56th Street; Hearst Metrotone News—Editor, Michael Clofine, 1540 Broadway; Paramount Newsreel—Editor, Emanuel Cohen, 1501 Broadway; Pathe Newsreel—Editor, E. Percy Howard, 35 West 45th Street; Universal Newspaper Talking Newsreel—Editor, Sam B. Jacobson, 730 Fifth Avenue, all in New York City.

World Peace Postage

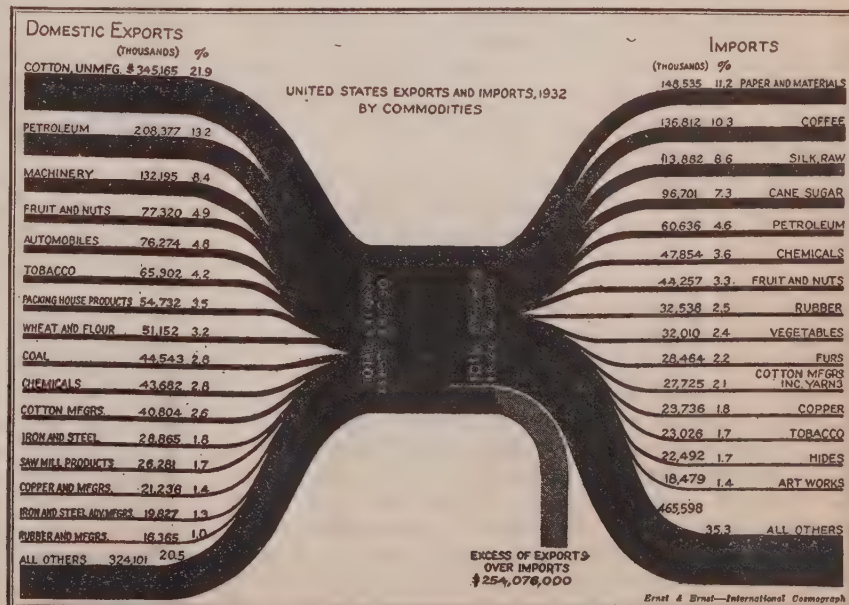
The proposal has been made that a permanent government peace postage stamp be issued by all nations and placed on sale concurrently with regular issues. Peace-minded persons would thus be able to dramatize their desire for peace by using peace stamps on all their mail. Further information about this proposal is available from The World Peace Postage Association, P. O. Box 512, St. Paul, Minnesota.

On the Floor of the House

On February 16 Representative Manlove in addressing his colleagues said: "I just want to call attention to the fact that in the new House Office Building two workmen were employed there yesterday who could not even speak the English language."

102 Millions in Dividends

The titanic dimensions of the insurance business in the United States are indicated in an announcement made recently by Frederick H. Ecker, President of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, to the effect that nearly 102 million dollars will be distributed to its 26 million policy holders within the year, from its earnings during the past twelve months. At the end of 1932 this company had in force nearly 19 billions, or about 18 per cent of all insurance in force in all companies of this country.





The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

A Challenge to Internationalists

Can America Stay At Home? By Frank H. Simonds. Harper & Brothers. 361 pages. \$3.00.

FOR a century and a quarter the United States was a debtor nation, more or less isolated from the currents of world politics, and content to allow the great European powers to struggle for imperial mastery unchallenged as long as they respected our self-assumed guardianship over the American continent. It is not surprising, therefore, that as a nation we should be ill-prepared for the dramatic and unprecedented transformation brought about by the World War, nor that the traditional distrust of "foreign entanglements" should persist long after there had been a fundamental change in the material conditions out of which it had grown. Thrust involuntarily into a position of world dominance by the magnitude of its foreign investments, the United States, as Mr. Simonds declares in his inimitable style, has "conducted its foreign relations in the manner of a nervous woman condemned to pass through a dark corridor infested by man-eating mice."

But Mr. Simonds does not attribute all of the inconsistencies and stupidities in American foreign policy since the War to the inevitable lag in the adjustment of our ideas to changed conditions. Coexistent with the desire for isolation, he finds another force equally powerful, and, from his point of view, equally dangerous—the missionary spirit. "The conception of peace as a moral, not a political problem, the identification of every international action as a mission, not a negotiation, the estimate of foreign policy as an evangelical enterprise, not a practical business" he declares to be characteristic of most American idealists. While in a sense the naïveté of this view is but an indication of American provincialism, the desire to reform the world according to American standards has, more frequently than not, come into sharp conflict with the traditional instinct for self-containment, with resultant anarchy in our international relations.

The author's analysis of American foreign policy since 1914 is largely a study of interplay and compromise between these two forces. The United States was drawn into the World War, for example, because Woodrow Wilson sought to impose rigid ethical standards upon Europe without being willing to back up his position with adequate military preparedness. The same passionate belief in the supreme efficacy of moral force later led Wilson to throw his very life into the formation of the League of Nations, only to be defeated ignominiously by the sudden and unexpected reassertion of isolationist feeling in this country. But the reaction to "normalcy" proved to be even more unrealistic than Wilsonian idealism, and the United States was disastrously outwitted at the Washington Conference as the result of its naïve and unwarranted assumption that American policy was morally superior to that of other nations. It was in the field of the war debts, however, that American statesmanship met its Waterloo. It was obvious that the United States must choose between collecting the debts and main-

taining domestic prosperity; for if it chose to insist on repayment, it either would have to lower tariffs to permit increased imports or decrease its exports. The Harding and Coolidge administrations sought to escape from this unpleasant dilemma by allowing Wall Street to lend Europe enough money to cover the debt installments, a device which postponed the day of reckoning but greatly intensified the final disaster. The climax of American blundering, according to Mr. Simonds, occurred in the Hoover administration when the United States, through a combination of ignorance and insolence, ignored basic political realities abroad in its program for disarmament and settlement of the intergovernmental debts, and in its policy in the Sino-Japanese controversy. Basically, Mr. Hoover's error was similar to that of President Wilson's fifteen years earlier, namely, direct interference in European affairs without the assumption of responsibility or even the willingness to face the inevitable consequences of this policy, with the difference that Hoover appears to have been wholly unaware of the implication of his program.

With the fundamental thesis advanced by Mr. Simonds there can be little quarrel. The prosperity of the United States has become so thoroughly dependent upon that of the outside world that we can no longer afford to play a lone hand in foreign affairs. Many will agree, moreover, that an effective international organization cannot be developed without reliance upon some form of sanctions but it does not necessarily follow, as Mr. Simonds would imply, that these need be military in character. While idealists must be realists as well, if they are to achieve the ends they seek, realism need not necessarily involve acquiescence in the evils of present-day society. Although the United States cannot afford to ignore the rules of international politics as conceived by other countries, we need not accept them as the basis of our own policies. Peace and prosperity cannot be obtained unless the United States is willing to pay the price of increased responsibility, but American leadership must be distinguished from American domination.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

God's Angry Man

God's Angry Man. By Leonard Ehrlich. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

THIS book is nothing less than a literary event. *God's Angry Man*, a novel, "not a biography or history," is an imaginative story of John Brown which moves in a historical framework with singular fidelity to the facts. The author has portrayed with dramatic skill the tragedy of a life which burned out with unselfish passion for the freedom of a race. The life story of the burning fanatic of Osawatimie and Harper's Ferry moves forward so vividly that the reader is under a strange spell. John Brown's career is the march of a great soul to whom "right is everything."

The scene opens with a terrifying picture of the struggle in "Bleeding Kansas" to prevent the extension of Negro slavery in the West. John Brown, with "a tattered straw hat, his toes showing

through his worn boots," is hunted like a wild animal by the foes of the abolitionists. After he has routed the border ruffians in Kansas, making himself the instrument of the avenging wrath of God upon the lawless defenders of slavery, the story carries us back to his early home-life. In an atmosphere of loneliness and hardship, of stern religion and intolerance of evil, the majestic figure of this moral crusader of the nineteenth century was shaped for heroic action. The exciting story leads us on to Boston, where we meet John Brown's strong allies, Thoreau and Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Frank Sanborn. We follow him until almost sixty, struggling to earn a livelihood for his family, going up and down the country on his secret mission, believing always that he is God's appointed agent to break the fetters of an enslaved race. John Brown's last years are the epitome of human tragedy—frightful struggles with his own sons, lonely wanderings, inhuman deprivations and suffering, malign accusations and base treacheries, an ill-fated trial, and hanging—and burial at last among the Adirondack peaks.

Leonard Ehrlich has produced a magnificent first novel, rich in poetic imagination, thrilling in dramatic interest, dynamic in intellectual power and passion. But more than this, he has re-embodied a great soul that forever "goes marching on." In a time when fanatics in great causes are too few *God's Angry Man* is a moral tonic. When American politics has no cause, when even religion lacks a cause, when moral apathy and social despair are in the saddle, John Brown, furious, fanatical and impractical though he may be, must be *heard*, not hanged.

GEORGE R. GROSE

Barth and Brunner

A Conservative Looks to Barth and Brunner. By Holmes Rolston. The Cokesbury Press. \$1.50.

KARL BARTH, while pastor of a little parish church in Safenwil, dated the foreword of his monumental commentary on Paul's letter to the Romans, August 1918. The chapters of that volume were largely sermons preached in the previous years to his little flock. This volume is a good attempt on the part of a young conservative scholar to interpret Barth from the point of view of his possible support for conservative Christianity. Rolston has done an able piece of compilation and interpretation. He has studied Barth at first hand and has succeeded in resolving the wierd style of Barth's explosive and impulsive manhandling of the German vocabulary. He has put in plain style and orderly fashion those impressive fulcrums from which Barth moves out. I think it a work well done and one that will help the American amateur in theology and modern European thought to know Barth better. In a way the book is more critical and less apologetical than McConnachie's, more orderly and simple than Hoyle's, better organized than Chapman's. It reveals a finer appreciation of Barth and Brunner than Zerbe's, but is hardly as keenly critical for the student as Pauck, although the student who has followed Barth for these last eight years will hardly find a volume on the crisis theology which really suits him—unless he writes it himself—so varied is the interpretation given these men, especially Barth. These differences are due primarily to the fact that the impact of their thinking is not yet fully crystallized or thought through in all of its implications.

There is, to be sure, much for the conservative in Barth and Brunner. If Mr. Rolston has used Barth's first volume of dogmatics more as a basis for his study, he might have found more

of that definiteness and dogmatism which he was looking for. For the latest tendency of Barth, which he himself would probably deny, is to crystallize—although I think the critics who have pounced upon this tendency to dogmatism have forgotten that his volume scarcely gets beyond a prologue to dogmatics! Yet the tendency is there. I never could see how some conservatives found much comfort in Barth's radical criticism of orthodoxy because it made of a human formula an absolute and eternal truth and thus ran into sheer literal idolatry. Nor in his radical idea of the Word of God as something in, with and under the Bible, nor, again, in his conception of the historical Jesus which is "caught" by the mysterious action of the Spirit's working in man's heart and not by any human logic or inference! And yet, Mr. Rolston has found that weak spot: the relation of the superhistorical *meaning* to the historical manifestation. To identify them is literalism, idolatry, dogmatism; to say they are not related is absolute, agnostic, dualism. But Barth wants to hold the interactionary theory. That, as Karl Heim, of Tuebingen, says, is standing in "no man's land"! What to do? This same principle dogs every phase of Barthianism, and it is the problem of problems.

All in all this is a fine volume. But Mr. Rolston must be warned about one thing, and so must all who would speak of Barth and Brunner: Do not quote Brunner and thereby make a point for Barth. The two are not as harmonious as once they were. Barth is frankly afraid of Brunner's humanistic tendency. And now that Brunner endorses the Oxford Group movement, with its emphasis upon experience, there is danger that a split may come, if not openly, at least secretly. Luther and Melancthon all over again!

The trouble with the books about Barth and Brunner is that you should buy them all! But if you cannot afford them all, you might start with this one. I venture to say you will buy the whole group or borrow them.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN

WE RECOMMEND

Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations. World Peace Foundation, Boston. \$3.00. A huge treasure chest of dependable, detailed information on the economic boom period and the collapse, together with all sorts of light on various matters of population, trade, products, etc., in the various countries of the world.

High Low Washington. By 30-32. J. B. Lippincott Co. \$2.50.

It was the bad luck of these two audacious writers that they have been somewhat snowed out of sight by the popularity of other revelatory works on "life in our capital city". For they have perhaps a bit more perception of underlying forces than the authors of *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, though they cannot write as vividly or quite so loquaciously. But for a picture of America in 1921 or 1931, it should go along with the rest.

Compulsory Arbitration of International Disputes. By Helen May Cory. Columbia University Press. \$3.50. Not a general discussion of arbitration, but rather an exposition and detailed outline of the *obligations* of states to arbitrate their disputes. It is a much-needed work of reference, written with admirable clarity and thoroughness. For the teacher or student it will become indispensable, along with such works as those by Denis Myers, Jackson H. Ralston, and the older works in the field. A stupendous job of research, done with finesse.

Education and the Social Crisis. By William Heard Kilpatrick. Liveright, Inc. \$1.25. A small but dynamic volume by one of America's most distinguished progressive educators. What a gap exists between this teaching and the average school practice! At the end there is an interesting brief critique of indoctrination for social good.

CORRESPONDENCE

Middleton Murry's Communism

WE have been meaning to write to you for some weeks to express our great disappointment with Sherwood Eddy's review of J. Middleton Murry's book, *The Necessity of Communism*, in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* of January 18. It struck us as peculiarly unworthy of your paper, however much in place it might have been in one dealing exclusively with economics.

Murry's book is of importance not so much, surely, for what it states concerning the form the necessary revolution may or may not take in England. What is more significant and original is the emphasis placed, first, on the "revolution within" as an indispensable prelude to any true revolution without, and, second, on the necessary social consequences, at this specific moment of history, for the individual who has been revolutionized within. The nature of that inner revolution seems to us to have been grievously misunderstood by Mr. Eddy. In the quotation he makes on that point he inserts words in brackets which presumably indicate what he (Mr. Eddy) thinks Murry thinks are the aims of that revolution. The superficiality of this understanding is discouraging. If there is any one point where our thinking—and especially the thinking of those of us who are called Christians—is usually foggy and needs desperately to be clear, it is just there. We should be eager for any light Middleton Murry can give us.

Swarthmore, Pa.

BOB AND DORA WILLSON

Pendle Hill School

THE name Pendle Hill has taken on a new connotation during the last three years, since the birth and sturdy growth of the Quaker center of that name at Wallingford, Pennsylvania. Pendle Hill used to bring to mind the "very great hill" in Lancashire, which George Fox climbed "with difficulty," and from which he had a vision of tasks that lay before him—nearly three centuries ago. Some members of the Society of Friends recognized that such hills are all too rare in modern society; they felt the need for a brighter, clearer vision of today's task, and for a deeper grasp on life. There must be infinite inner resources if one is to contribute vitally toward rebuilding the social order and toward a better understanding of the significance of life. In response to these needs, Pendle Hill, a graduate center for social and religious study, opened its doors in September, 1930, to its first family, a group of seventeen men and women of varied national, racial, and religious backgrounds.

Besides the regular winter term of 32 weeks, there is a summer session of a month. The courses are of graduate type, but neither examinations nor credit are given. There is ample opportunity for discussion both in and out of class, and the students have considerable choice of subject matter within a course. Much of the thinking at Pendle Hill has focussed itself on some of the perplexing issues of our own day, such as the development of vital religious experience, the relation of personal religion to social effectiveness, the answer of religion today to the challenge of humanism, and the Christian position on the use of coercion in

social change. The fellowship among the students is enriched in many ways—intimate informal discussions, sometimes with a distinguished visitor such as Kagawa or Muriel Lester; a brief period of unprogrammed Quaker worship in the morning; recreation, both indoors and out; and doing together the household tasks.

Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin is Director, although this year, owing to illness, his place is being filled by John A. Hughes, of England. The teaching staff, which has varied some from year to year, has included several whose main work is at Swarthmore, Haverford or Bryn Mawr. The present staff includes Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Dr. James Moffatt, and Dr. J. Herschel Coffin. Those interested in securing further information should communicate with Joseph E. Platt, Dean; Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa.

Philadelphia, Pa.

BEATRICE SHIPLEY.

Appeal for the Southern F. O. R.

YOUR editorial of February 15, "Sandino's Postscript," is a timely reminder of the important varied services of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It is indeed tragic that "in the vicissitudes of fortunes," such work has to be suspended at a time when the needs are so challenging.

A group of us in Nashville are tremendously concerned with the future of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the South. In these difficult and trying days, Howard Kester, the Southern Secretary, is carrying on a heroic fight, in the face of the possible closing of the Southern Office, in making himself available for all kinds of unusual services in times of racial and industrial crises. The local F. O. R. is not only cooperating in aiding the miners in Wilder, Tennessee, but is also cooperating in the defense of the helpless Negroes in the "Lebanon Case". Moreover, white and colored students testify that Howard Kester is a living example of a realistic radical Christian whose influence is much needed.

Some weeks ago, the Nashville group sent out a general appeal to all the Southern members on behalf of the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the South. In spite of the difficult days which all of us are facing, it is encouraging that there are some who believe in the work so tremendously that responses have been received from members to the amount of \$52.50. It is our hope that other members in the South will respond immediately in order to keep the Southern Office of the Fellowship of Reconciliation alive, the work of which, some of us believe, is no where more desperately needed than in this section of the country.

Nashville, Tenn.

JOHN DILLINGHAM.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Where to Secure Information

PERSONS who are interested in securing documentary data concerning world problems will do well to subscribe for *International Conciliation*, which is published monthly by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York City. The subscription price is 25 cents for one year, or one dollar for five years. During the past year important brochures have dealt with these subjects: What Follows the Pact of Paris? Judicial World Organization, International Commissions of Inquiry and Conciliation, The Present Economic State of Germany, The Lausanne Agreement, Canada and the League of Nations, The International Labour Organisation, Disarmament, etc.

Who's Who in This Issue

Scott Nearing is a well-known economist and the author of "The Twilight of Empire," "Must We Starve?" and other works.

Stanton A. Coblentz is the author of "The Literary Revolution," "The Answer of the Ages" and several volumes of verse.

George R. Grose, former president of De Pauw University, is the author of "The Outlook for Religion" and "Edward Rector—A Story of the Middle West."

E. G. Homrighausen is pastor of the Carrollton Avenue Reformed Church in Indianapolis and is on the faculty of Butler University.

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Speaker: Kirby Page

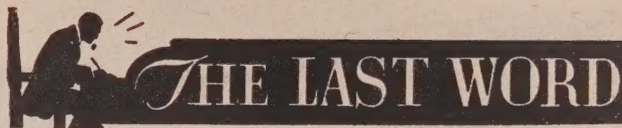
Other weekly features of Station WEVD:

The Group Theater, Sunday, 8:30 P.M.

Michael Strange, Tuesday, 5:15 P.M.

Hendrik Van Loon, Friday, 8:15 P.M.

Birth Control Radio Hour, Monday, 5:00 P.M.



FINE manners have never been among my strong points. I have not yet forgotten the grammar school principal who quite unjustly decreed that I should stay in his room every afternoon for a month, for annoying the girls of my class; when, in reality, all that had happened was that my cap, knocked out of my hand by a jocular playmate, had zipped over the banisters, fallen two flights, and landed squarely on the red head of Fannie K. Snitcher, the teacher's pet. When told the vital truth, he softened and said, "Well, I guess perhaps I was rather foolish to accuse you"; only to harden his heart abominably when, in my nervousness, I piped up cheerfully: "Yes Sir, you certainly were, Sir!" Then there was the time in college, when another fellow and I tossed a dime over which could go home with a decidedly nice girl at the end of a boarding house party. In her presence, and merely because she had been rather crusty with me lately, I felt embarrassed when I got the toss; so I spoke up, to smooth over her irritation and my fidgeting, "Hah! The question is, have I won or lost?" Still later was the occasion when, at a party, I had kidded a dignified maiden into rebellion, and she had demanded, as the price of our friendship, that at a new party with the same people two weeks hence, I should make a public apology; whereupon, when the time came, I cried: "Belle, before all these friends, I want to apologize for the manner in which, so often lately, I have joked you and worried you and pestered you, making your face perpetually red—you won't hold it up against me, will you?"

Those days are long since gone; but still, in the more serious questions of world affairs, I seem to be just as thoughtless and uncouth. That is, according to Professor Herbert Adams Gibbons. For Professor Gibbons has recently returned from Europe to announce that the Europeans hate us. He cited the usual reasons—misunderstanding of our attitude on the debts, the League, and so on. But he also brought out a new reason. We have granted the Philippines a species of independence, though the trouble is with the independence and not our manner of it. If this renowned authority on international problems has been quoted correctly, he declares that this will be "a blow to our markets in the Far East, which represent one quarter of the population of the globe. As I see America's grant of independence to the Philippines it is unmistakably an act of unneighborliness. Furthermore, it is not only unsocial, but almost an act of hostility to Holland and other powers who have colonies nearby. There is and has been enough trouble in those colonies. I think our gravest offense here was in exhibiting bad manners internationally."

WELL, it only shows how unrefined some of us advocates of freedom really are. Hereafter we shall have to stop wanting Gandhi to win against British imperialism, because it really isn't polite to the French, who are having trouble enough in Indo-China. What bores we have been, too, about Nicaragua; we ought to have kept the marines there, if for no other reason, out of courtesy to the struggling people of Colombia who are in such trouble with Peru. For that matter, almost everybody has been dead wrong, even stupidly bad-mannered, about Japan; for if the League should make her come out of Manchuria, it would be a downright affront to Soviet Russia, which is having trouble in inner Mongolia. Not only that! Byrd and Wilkins better keep away from Antarctica, if you ask me; for I have it on good authority that the sea-leopards, a kind of seals which invade the region, are complaining over their troubles with the penguins, which have been acting disagreeably about being dragged under the water and gobbled up.

Eccentricus ■



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